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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAJ-01 OMB-01 NIC-01 EA-06 IO-04 SAM-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-04 OES-02

EPA-01 ACDA-05 NEA-06 ARA-06 /092 W
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FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2185

C O N F I D E N T I A L BUDAPEST 3031

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, HU
SUBJECT: KADAR PARTY SCHOOL SPEECH--FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS

1. SUMMARY: FIRST SUBSTANTIVE SECTION OF KADAR'S IMPORTANT SEPT SPEECH TO THE PARTY SCHOOL WAS DEVOTED TO FOREIGN POLICY, BUT WE REGARD IT AS OF LESS SIGNIFICANCE THAN THE INTERNAL SECTION (BUDAPEST 3007). PRINCIPAL INTEREST WAS IN STRENGTH OF HIS ATTACK ON ANTI-SOVIETISM AND MAOISM, WITH WHICH HE ASSOCIATED NATIONALISM AS ALSO BEING ANTI-MARXIST. IN DEVELOPING NEED FOR COORDINATION AMONG COMMUNIST PARTIES HE STRESSED THAT THERE WAS NO COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE AND NONE NEEDED AND NO "INSTITUTIONAL" LEADING PARTY AND NONE NEEDED, THAT EACH PARTY IS INDEPENDENT, AND THAT BECAUSE CONSULTATIONS ARE NOW ONLY COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL FORUM HUNGARY SUPPORTS THEM ACTIVELY--ARGUMENTS APPARENTLY DIRECTED TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA AS WELL AS CHINA, BUT ALSO HAVING INTERNAL SIGNIFICANCE. CONCLUDED THAT THERE WERE "NO PLANS WHATEVER THAT SOME OF THEM (COMMUNIST PARTIES) SHOULD BE DAMNED." HE ANALYZED "CAPITALIST SOCIETY" AS BURDENED BY INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS AND SUPPORTED PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WHILE DRAWING CLEAR LINES ON ITS LIMITS--I.E. THAT WE ARE OPPONENTS IN POLITICS AND IN "ANTAGONISTIC
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OPPOSITION" IN IDEOLOGY. SPEECH CONTAINED FIRM EMPHASIS

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ON NEED FOR FULL AND CLOSE COOPERATION WITH USSR, BUT NOT NEARLY AS FULSOME AS IN HIS SUBSEQUENT SPEECHES IN THE USSR DID NOT MENTION US BY NAME. END SUMMARY.

2. KADAR AND HUNGARY HAVE FOR MANY YEARS ASSUMED LEADING ROLES FOR MOSCOW IN CRITICISM OF CHINESE, IN PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL PARTY MEETINGS, AND IN ADVOCACY OF LEADING ROLE OF USSR. MERGING ALL THESE THEMES, KADAR VIGOROUSLY CRITICIZED CHINESE IN MAIN FOREIGN POLICY PORTION OF HIS SPEECH. SAID "PIVOTAL" QUESTION IS MARXIST-LENINIST ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL INCONSISTENCIES; CORRECT ANALYSIS IS THAT MAIN "INCONSISTENCY" IN WORLD IS BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM, IMPERIALISM AND SOCIALISM, BUT A PARTY EXISTS (PRC) "WHICH CALLS ITSELF COMMUNIST" THAT DOES NOT PROFESS THIS. UNITY IN INTER-NATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS NOT POSSIBLE ON BASIS LACKING IN PRINCIPLES; HUNGARY WILL FIGHT AGAINST ANY ANTI- MARXIST VIEWS SUCH AS NATIONALISM AND ANTI-SOVIETISM INCLUDING "THIS IS UNAVOIDABLE" MAOIST VIEWS. "IT IS NOT THAT WE CHALLENGE THE MAOISTS TO FIGHT A LITTLE BECAUSE THIS IS IN OUR PROGRAM AND WE HAVE TWO EMPTY WEEKS." MAOISM DESCRIBED AS ALIEN TO SCIENTIFIC IDEOLOGY AND MARXISM-LENINISM. DETRIMENTAL TO PEOPLES WHO ARE BUILDING SOCIALISM AND TO CHINESE THEMSELVES.

3. PROCEEDING FROM THIS KADAR THEN STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF COORDINATION OF VIEWS OF COMMUNIST PARTIES--ENDORSING THE SUBSEQUENT EUROPEAN MEETING AND FAVORING MEETINGS ON A BROAD BASIS "OR EVEN ON A WORLD SCALE," INCLUDING THE "BROADEST POSSIBLE CONFERENCE." SAID THERE WAS NO REASON TO FEAR DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS THAT MIGHT BE EXPRESSED AND THAT THERE WAS NO PLAN THAT SOMEONE SHOULD BE DAMNED. IN THIS CONTEXT--IN ARGUMENTS APPARENTLY DIRECTED TOWARD YUGOSLAVIAN AND ROMANIAN PARTICIPATION BUT HAVING INTERNAL SIGNIFICANCE AS WELL-KADAR DEVELOPED AT SOME LENGTH CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES: THERE IS NO COMMUNIST INTERNATIONALE AND NONE EVEN NEEDED; NO "INSTITUTIONAL LEADING PARTY" AND NOT EVEN NEEDED; SISTER PARTIES ARE "IN TRUE SENSE OF WORD" INDEPENDENT, EACH PARTY TAKES ITS OWN STAND, NONE OF ITS SELF-AUTHORITY IS CONFIDENTIAL

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LIMITED AND EXPERIENCES OF OTHER PARTIES ONLY ACCEPTED IN AREAS IN WHICH IT CERTAIN TO BE RIGHT. ALSO SPOKE OF IMPORTANCE OF SEPARATE PARTY CONGRESSES.

4. HIS OTHER PRINCIPAL COMMENTS WERE ON RELATIONS WITH THE WEST. STARTING FROM BASIS THAT HUNGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY WAS A "CLASS POLICY", KADAR CALLED POLICY OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH CAPITALIST STATES" A

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CARDINAL HUNGARIAN POLICY. SAID, HOWEVER, THAT "EVEN WELL-INTENTIONED PEOPLE" IN HUNGARY DON'T UNDERSTAND EXACTLY WHAT IT MEANS. IT MEANS PARTNERSHIP IN INTERSTATE RELATIONS, ECONOMIC COOPERATION, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND THE LIKE, BUT "ANTAGONISTIC OPPOSITION" IN IDEOLOGY AND THAT WE ARE OPPONENTS IN POLITICS. ANALYZES "IMPERIALISM" AS IN A DEEP CRISIS AND CONCLUDES THAT THE USSR AND THE SOCIALIST WORLD SYSTEM HAVE BECOME "THE DETERMINANT FACTOR" IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD. SPECIFICS ON EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE, ME, INDOCHINA, CYPRUS WERE IN STANDARD TERMS. VIEWED CHILE AS A SETBACK BUT THAT "PEOPLE" WILL EVENTUALLY "WIN AND BE FREE." ON OTHER HAND SAYS PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS, WHICH HE OBVIOUSLY FOUND SURPRISING, PROVED VALIDITY OF MARXIST VIEW ON COURSE OF HISTORY, AND COMMENTED THAT IMPERIALISTS COULD NO LONGER "CONTROL THE GHOST" THEY THEMSELVES RELEASED FROM BOTTLE IN GREECE AND CYPRUS. LIFE PROVING THAT MARXIST COMPASS WAS EXCELLENT.

5. COMMENT: KADAR CALLED HIMSELF OPTIMISTIC IN FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS. HIS BASIC ANALYSIS INDICATED CONSIDERABLE SATISFACTION WITH DIRECTION OF DEVELOPMENTS VIS-A-VIS WEST. MAIN ISSUE OF CONCERN WAS CLEARLY CHINA. PEDERSEN

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